

— If slavery were abolished, what would be left  
 fight about? Then, knock it in the head!



## DISUNION PLOTTINGS IN EUROPE.

The *National Intelligencer* publishes a very interesting series of contraband letters which were found on board the Confederate steamer *Calhoun*, captured by our blockade squadron on the water for the use of running the blockade of the entrance to the Mississippi river on the 23d of January last. The central figure in the group of letter writers thus brought to the knowledge of the public, is Thomas Butler King, agent for some Georgia steamer scheme in Europe, but who appears to have devoted all his time for the year past to the cause of the Southern Confederacy. The correspondence is of a very miscellaneous nature, but some of it throws such valuable glimpses on the most audacious iniquity of modern times that we make such extracts as our space will allow.

The first glimpse is of the brazen assurance which distinguished the rebels on the opening of President Lincoln's administration. Mr. A. E. Cochran writes from Macon, Georgia, March 5, 1861:

"Nothing new. Most people read Lincoln's inaugural as 'a no fight' measure, and few care a 'cuss' whether it is or not."

The next is like unto it, but more practical, being from the private and confidential letter of J. Cowles, New York, April 10, 1861, to Mr. King, viz.:

"This day Fort Sumter will be attacked, and before this reaches you Pickens—then all the Slave States will rush together, a separation will be complete, and the Confederacy acknowledged; then capital will follow, and we can carry our plans."

Now we cross the water, and find Mr. J. M. Vernon writing from Brussels to Mr. King: "I have been on the continent, and operating for our commercial independence since last June." That is, June, 1860, before the Presidential campaign had fairly begun. Beverly Tucker, who is still in Paris, wrote in June last, and showed the private sentiments of the rebels toward John Bull, as follows:

"We have whipped the scoundrels in three instances, and, what is worse for them than defeat, we have proved already their utter inefficiency to cope with us. Not the least gratifying element is the threatening aspect of England and the United States, or rather the rotten Government at Washington. God grant that it may end in rupture, and that John Bull may blow his blockade sky high. If he does this I will forgive him a load of his self-conceit, arrogance and hollow philanthropy."

A Mr. E. Peirce, who has three or four letters in this interesting batch, tells Mr. King from Dieppe how to get at the London *Times*, and is pleased to say: "I should not wonder if the *Western States* would say, 'wonder' 'Joins Canada.' In the next letter this 'wonder'—ful man comes to the conclusion that 'the war will break down in the North for want of funds.'"

The two next correspondents of Mr. King are "Haldeman" (a Pennsylvanian, we believe), and "son of the late Gen. Claxton, of Maryland"—but they say nothing of consequence. Another writer, evidently of some note, under the signature of "Maryland," writes, apparently from London, in regard to the recognition of the Southern Confederacy:

"I feel authorized, after having had two friendly conferences with a prominent member of the Foreign Office, and one with one of the most influential of the confidential advisers of the Sovereign, to give it as my belief that little hesitation and delay would be met with in attaining this desired result."

The same writer cautions Mr. King against a young South Carolina in Paris named Mortimer, and says he does so on the authority of his father, "who is heart and soul with the South." Loyal people will be glad to hear more about this young Mortimer.

The next correspondent on the carpet is Mr. J. L. O'Sullivan, who sent the *National Intelligencer*, has sprung a patriotic Union etc. to the tune of the "Star Spangled Banner." In August he was really to do anything for the rebel cause, though chafed down at Lisbon "by absolute want of means." Mr. O'Sullivan was the late United States Minister to Portugal.

Following him comes "Ch. Haussier," France, whose note is only important for the statement it contains, that one of Mr. King's secession pamphlets was published at the request of Michael Chevalier, the eminent French champion of free trade, and for the following:

"I need not recall to your memory what the Minister told you in one of the interviews you had; it was too gratifying for you to have forgotten it."

The revelations next turn their light upon a British Consul at Panama, Mr. Crawford, who is gratified by one of Mr. King's correspondents "a thorough Southerner." This, and doubtless other convincing testimony, makes such an impression on Mr. King that he actually writes to Earl Russell, December 6, 1861, saying of Mr. Crawford:

"I therefore beg leave to assure your lordship, most respectfully, that her Majesty's Government could not select a more capable and patriotic man to represent it in residence near the Government of the Confederate States."

This is the height of impudence. Still, Mr. Crawford is as likely to be British Minister to the Southern Confederacy as anybody else.

We have seen with what assurance the correspondence began—by one of our countrymen, and gratified by one of our countrymen. All these plotting diplomats were needy in the pocket, though rich in visions of Southern glory. We have observed Mr. O'Sullivan chained down at Lisbon by "absolute want of means." But he is not alone. J. M. Vernon is "entirely out of money." Haussier begs that the future Southern Embassy will remember his services. Mr. Calhoun says the foreign bankers "will take no drafts on the South at all," and that he never saw such times before, though he had been through some hard ones. R. Mitchell duns Mr. King, and says, "I did not expect you would let me support your expenses." J. N. Beach is trying to negotiate a loan for Mr. King. And to cap all, Robert Hutchinson wishes Mr. Yancey to give him the address of "Mr. Thomas Butler King, of Georgia, U. S.," adding:

"Perhaps I ought to state that I have instructions to direct my solicitor to arrest him for a considerable debt."

Perhaps these little facts, wherever the rebel agents in Europe were known, much more than offset all their glib representations and artful devices.—*Boston Journal.*

## THE DELUSIONS OF ONE YEAR AGO.

As a specimen of the absurd calculations upon which the secessionists one year ago initiated the present deplorable war, we republish the following article from the *Mobile Evening News* of that period, copied from that paper into the *Columbia* (South Carolina) *Guardian*. No comment is necessary:

"There are now, as nearly as can be estimated, upwards of one hundred thousand organized and armed men in the seven Confederate States, under orders or anxiously awaiting them to spring to the post of danger at the word of Jefferson Davis. Within eight or ten days time at the furthest he can concentrate sixty thousand of these men, the best soldiers in the world, at any point on the northern border, and but this splendid army like an avalanche upon the foe. If the battle ground be in Virginia or Maryland, as it probably will, the grand army of the Confederacy will be doubled or trebled by the rallying hosts of those States. We have reason to believe that hundreds of companies are now on the move, or will be within twenty-four hours, all bound somewhere. Such is our immediate war power. Should we move on Washington, does the enemy expect to hold it against us? To hold it against an army of a hundred thousand men, and a hostile local population? Large as the telegraphic reports from the land of the enemy read, it will be at least a month before Lincoln can muster into service, and concentrate into an army, a hundred thousand men. We are ready, he is not. Our people, naturally so inclined, have been making soldiers of themselves for months. His people have been doing nothing of the sort, and are not naturally so inclined. Our ordinances of secession were really the notes of our warlike preparation. Their first note of preparation was the canonade of Charleston. We have had three months the start of them, and are ready—they are not."

Months ago the minds of our people had settled resolutely to meet any issue. Now the people of the North are in all the wild panic and confusion of war's first alarm. We confront them, a cool, collected force, that will never give them time to recover from their surprise. We are ready for action—they are getting ready to prepare to act. They may

raise plenty of men—men who prefer enlisting to starvation, scurvy fellows from the back slums of cities, whom Falstaff would not have marched through Coventry with; but these recruits are not soldiers, least of all the soldiers to meet the hot-blooded, thoroughbred impetuous men of the South. Trencher soldiers, who enlisted to war on their rations, not on men, they are fellows who do not know the breach of a musket from its muzzle, and had rather flinch a handkerchief than fight an enemy in many open combat. These are the levied 'forces' whom Lincoln suddenly arrays as candidates for the honor of being slaughtered by gentlemen—such as Mobile sent to battle yesterday. Let them come South, and we will put our negroes to the dirty work of killing them. But they will not come South. Not a wretch of them will live on this side of the border longer than it will take us to reach the ground and drive them over."

Mobile is sending forth to wage this war of independence the noblest and bravest of her sons. It is expensive, extravagant to put such material against the riffling of mercenaries whom the abolition power has called out to war upon us. We could almost hope that a better class of men would fall into the Northern hands, that our gentlemen might find men worthy of their steel, whom it would be more difficult to conquer, and whose conquering would be more honorable. For the present, however, we need not expect to find any foe worth fighting, with the exception of a few remnants, for the North is just getting ready, and will likely be whipped before it is ready."

## A RIGHTEOUS RETRIBUTION.

Wednesday, April 30, 1862.

"At the latest accounts from Fredericksburg, General McDowell was occupying as his headquarters the house of Mr. Lacy, immediately opposite that city."

This paragraph in a late morning paper brings to my mind some incidents connected with that house, and, what is more interesting to us, and, which, to my own mind, are not without their lessons. This mansion to which I refer bears the name of Chatham, and was immediately at the end of Chatham bridge which was named from it. The bridge is now in ruins. The mansion was built by Judge Collier, one of the best of the old Virginia school of gentlemen, a Judge of the District, and a member of the bar, a lawyer of high attainments. He was a man of great wealth, and selected this beautiful eminence for the noble mansion which under his own supervision was reared upon it. Chatham was long known as the seat of refinement and hospitality, and there probably has never been a gentleman or statesman of the old regime who has not been entertained within its almost classic walls.

More than twenty years ago this old and beloved citizen died, bequeathing his entire wealth and estate to his excellent widow. She was a woman of generous nature and of the purest piety. Among other property left her were a large number of negroes whom she always treated with kindness.

During her life her youngest daughter, a lady of great beauty, was married to Mr. Horace Lacy. To him, therefore, the property fell on the death of Mrs. Collier, which happened a few years ago at a very advanced age.

Mrs. Collier had during many years previous to her death, declared that she should set her slaves free when she died. For this purpose she called in a near relative of hers, who was a lawyer, and employed him in writing out her will. Now this lawyer, who resides in Fredericksburg and is well known there, set his eyes upon the number of slaves, and seemed to him quite a desperate thing to see ninety-five well-conditioned chattels going out of the State. But then, how could they be of any importance to him, or to any but Lacy? He hit upon this expedient: He persuaded the old lady to put in her will references to these negroes might have the effect of bringing free, or of selecting masters for them from among her blood relations. There are so many hot ploughshares to be traversed before Freedom can be reached, that it is not to be wondered at if the alternative presented itself to this lawyer's mind as the likeliest to befall these ninety-five negroes.

But when the old lady died, the lawyer will be opened, Lacy was inconsolable for the loss of these chattels. Until at length some legal Melephobites—and his tribe has not decreased in Fredericksburg—whispered it into Lacy's ear that all was not lost. These negroes were by the will given their choice of freedom or masters; but by the laws of Virginia, a slave, not being a citizen, had no right to choose.

Incredible as it may seem, this infernal scoundrel, Horace Lacy, seized on this point and subverted the life-long wishes of his mother-in-law as to the freedom of these slaves. The writer of this has heard Mrs. Collier speak with gratitude of the affection and respect her daughter-in-law determined to set them free. The Circuit Court sustained Lacy's claim, and the matter was taken up to the Supreme Court of Virginia, which also sustained the law of the case—the ablest Judge on the bench, R. C. L. Moncure, bringing in a minority opinion of great power against the defendant. His opinion was vehement and bold, and was all the more important because he resided on a farm but a short distance from Chatham.

When Lacy had thus defrauded these ninety-five human beings of their freedom, which without an exception he had decided to choose, he had to complete the diabolical program by selling them South, as he was afraid to live within their reach.

It is to the credit of the Fredericksburgians that Lacy became very unpopular on account of this transaction. In a late effort to be elected to the Rebel Legislature he was utterly defeated, despite his high social connections. He then got an appointment as aid to Gen. Smith, a shrewd old lawyer of Fredericksburg remarking that it was an illustration of Dr. Johnson's remark, that "patriotism is the last resort of scoundrels."

It is some gratification to know the sagacious lawyer who drew up the will never got a single chattel by the transaction. It is on this Lacy's estate and in his domicile that Mr. McDowell is making himself comfortable. Don't be nervous, General! There's not a gentleman in the neighborhood around you who does not regard it as a piece of "poetic justice." And if by any means some young or aged negroes shall be found on the estate, whom Lacy thought *non doli capaces*, you may be sure they have a holy claim to liberty! Let this Rebel Aid's mansion and fine grounds be confiscated, and, side by side with the farm where Washington was reared, it will serve as a monument to the old Burg Justice still lives with her balances and her sword.

By the way, would not the field in which lies the grave and unfinished monument of Washington's mother be a fit place for the encampment of the army of the Union when they shall cross the Rappahannock?—*Correspondence of the N. Y. Tribune.*

## CONFISCATION.

In dealing with confiscation, we propose to approach it as we do every question that we have created. The time has come for us to accept or reject it; and in the way we signify either our acceptance or rejection, we shape the policy of this war. If confiscation is wrong in theory, then the war is wrong. If we do not adopt every means to crush the rebellion, we indirectly sustain it. A Virginia planter, in York county, has a hundred negroes—a large farm—overfallowing barns, spades, axes, and hatches. General Magruder wishes to throw up an embankment. The planter sends his negroes to make ditches and breastworks—furnishes the tools, and feeds the regiments encamped behind them from his granary. He not only gives Magruder the means of war, but sustains his men in making it. This we consider open rebellion. In the course of time our armies advance. The planter's home comes within our lines. We know he is an enemy to our cause. We know that he has sustained our enemies in the prosecution of open and offensive war. Common sense would say, release his negroes from the bonds by which they have been made enemies; place him in arrest as a traitor; open his barns to our hungry soldiers, and take away all power to be the enemy he has been. This would be retribution for crime committed, and indemnity against crime that might be committed. Yet this would be confiscation; and, on a proposition to make it a law, every Democrat in the House votes nay, and a large number of other members timidly steal into the committee-rooms, and refuse to go upon the record.—*Philadelphia Press.*

CONFISCATION. It is reported that Hon. Horace Maynard, who has just returned to Washington from Tennessee, declares himself in favor of a stringent confiscation act against the rebels. It is noteworthy that Parson Brownlow, Major Polk, and other leading Tennessee Unionists take the same ground.

## The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 9, 1862.

## NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

The NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION for 1862 will be held in the city of Boston, on Wednesday and Thursday, May 29th and 30th, in the MEL-ODIUM, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M., of Wednesday.

The New England Convention, annually held for the past thirty years, (with but a single exception,) has been one of the most effective instrumentalities for arousing the people of this land to a just sense of the great Abolition of Slavery. Its yearly sessions have always been largely attended, not only all the New England States being represented therein, but usually several of the Western and Middle States also. Never before was it called to meet under such cheering circumstances. The work of the Convention is far from being done, nor can any opponent of slavery safely slacken hand or zeal at this critical hour. But God is now vouchsafing such signs to this nation, such tokens of his power and presence, as should serve mightily to encourage every friend of Freedom, and bring us all to the great crowning labors of the Anti-Slavery cause with redoubled energy and in redoubled numbers.

Let the anti-slavery men and women of New England, then, gather once more in their Annual Convention. Once more let them indicate to the long-slumbering but now awakening land, to a guilty but happy and repenting people, the only Way of Peace, of Safety, and of National Honor. Once more let the words of Justice, and Freedom, for all, be echoed from the hills and valleys of New England, until they join the swelling voices of the Centre and the Great West; and the trembling, hoping slave shall hear the glad tidings, proclaiming his deliverance, his redemption, and his acknowledged manhood.

All friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, in every part of the country, are invited to attend.

In behalf of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society,

EDMUND QUINCY, President.

ROBERT F. WALLACE, Rec. Secy.

## ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The opening session of the twenty-ninth anniversary of this Society was held in the Church of the Puritans, (Rev. Dr. Cheever's) in New York, on Tuesday forenoon, May 6, a most intelligent, sympathetic and crowded audience being present, and warmly responding to the sentiments uttered on the occasion. The President (Mr. Garrison) was in the chair, and opened the meeting by a few congratulatory remarks, and the reading of striking and highly appropriate selections from the Scriptures. A fervent and impressive prayer was then made by the Rev. Mr. Post, after which the Treasurer's report was submitted, and the following letter read by Oliver Johnson from Hon. Gerrit Smith:

LETTER FROM GERRIT SMITH.

PETERBORO, April 16, 1862.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON:

MY DEAR FRIEND:—The cordial invitation in your letter of 13th inst., to attend and address the approaching Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, I should for many reasons love to accept. But I have many labors at home; and, moreover, I am too old to leave home unnecessarily. You will have an abundance of speakers, and will not need my voice.

I trust that the smiles of Heaven will be upon your meeting, and that great wisdom will characterize all its proceedings.

I find that some were pleased with my meeting, if I find that some of its time was consumed in discussing the relations of the Federal Constitution to slavery. Whether these relations be or be not pro-slavery, so it is that the American people persisted in being pro-slavery, until they thereby destroyed the nation. Destroyed it is simply by being pro-slavery; and destroyed it is no less by the pro-slavery of the North than of the South. I do not say that it is destroyed beyond restoration. I hope it will be restored; and I am sure it will be ultimately.

The people were infuriated enough to be pro-slavery, whatever might be the character of the Constitution; they will now, I trust, be anti-slavery, whatever its character. They sacrificed the nation to save slavery; they will now, I trust, sacrifice slavery to save the nation. If they fell below the Constitution before, to raise it up they will be willing, if need be, to rise above it.

There is one point at which the meeting should, in my judgment, put forth a clear defence of the "Garrisonian Abolitionist." His influence, especially in the case of such a man as yourself or Wendell Phillips, is too important to the cause of freedom that injustice should be allowed to impair it. The "Garrisonian Abolitionist" was formerly a Disunionist, and is now a Unionist; and hence he is charged with being inconsistent, or at least with being a convert. He is, however, the subject neither of inconsistency nor conversion. This nation, whatever it was in theory and in law, was practically a nation of kidnappers—of monsters. The "Garrisonian Abolitionist," despairing at last of his reformation, held that it ought to be broken up. But such a charge has taken place in the nation within the last year, that its reformation is no longer to be despised. Moreover, the reformation can be carried on far more hopefully in the union than in the disunion of the States. Hence, with all consistency, the "Garrisonian Abolitionist" is now a Unionist. There is a conversion. It is, however, to him, and not of him. There is a change; but it is around him, and not in him.

Whether he was right in holding that the Constitution is pro-slavery is another and inferior question. It is very inferior, because, be the Constitution pro-slavery or anti-slavery, the people are equally bound to be anti-slavery. The Constitution can bind none to be guilty of crime—can excuse none for being guilty of crime. On the immeasurably greater question, whether the nation was pro-slavery, he was emphatically right. Whether it was so helplessly pro-slavery as he finally believed it to be is still another question. I confess that I lacked but little of being as hopeless as he; or, in other words, but little of identifying myself with his policy, and of going with him for the breaking up of the nation. Surely, it is better for a nation to be broken up than to continue to wield its mighty national powers to uphold a great crime. Surely, the English or the French nation had better be broken up than hold together by the policy of putting to death every feeble-born child. That, however, were a small crime compared with the crime of crimes which stains our nation.

You and I have ceased from our anxieties about the abolition of slavery. We must not, however, accept too much credit for having done so. We could well afford to cease from them; for we saw an earnest and a mighty effort to save the country, and we knew that slavery had got such a safe and deadly hold of the throat of the nation, that the nation could not be saved without slavery was killed. Forty years ago, and a no less widely-extended rebellion could have been put down without putting down slavery. A flock of sheep may be saved, and the suckling wolf which has got in among them be also saved; but let the wolf have a year's more growth, and either it or the sheep must die.

Please add to the funds of the Society the enclosed draft for fifty dollars.

With great regard, your friend,

GERRIT SMITH.

The President then stated that, in consequence of the omission of the annual meeting of the Society last May, he would read the following Statement in behalf of the Executive Committee, instead of the series of resolutions usually submitted on the occasion:

## Statement of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

For the first time since the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833, its annual meeting was omitted one year ago, by the unanimous judgment of its Executive Committee, in order that, at so critical period in the life of the nation, no opportunity should be given the domestic enemies of freedom to make a mobocratic outbreak, whereby the traitors of the South might be stimulated to a more vigorous prosecution of their nefarious designs, instead of being perplexed and confounded by beholding an undivided North in the maintenance of popular institutions. Now that the lines are distinctly drawn, and vast armies are in the field for the suppression of the rebellion, and all sympathy with the rebels is disavowed, this Society deems it advantageous to resume the observance of its anniversary meetings in the usual manner.

However opposed it may have been either to the Constitution or the Union, in time past, the Society has contended no resort to violence, acted no factious part, adopted no illegal or unjustifiable measures, and presented no other than a moral issue in vindication of the sovereignty of God and the sacred rights of human nature, against provisions or agreements regarded by it as cruel, wicked, and utterly indefensible. It is the prerogative of all citizens, whether in an individual or organized capacity, to criticize all those laws and institutions for which they are responsible, or by which they are required to be governed, and especially that Constitution which is "the supreme law of the land." And it is equally their right and duty to testify against whatever they conscientiously believe to be at variance with the principles of justice and the claims of humanity, as embodied in the Constitution or enforced in any of the laws under it. Loyalty to God forbids their being dumb in such an exigency. Beyond this, the Society has never gone a hair's breadth. Hence, those who accuse it of having pursued an incendiary, unlawful, treasonable course, are guilty of calumny.

The Society was organized for the abolition of slavery by peaceful and moral instrumentalities: it has used no others. It professes to regard the act of making man the property of man as a flagrant sin against God, and the denial of all human rights; and the slave system as "the sum of all villainies." In this conviction, it is sustained by the verdict of the civilized world and the common instincts of mankind: it is, therefore, neither fanatical nor mad. The charge of fanaticism and madness applies to those who advocate or sanction slavery, not to those who plead for its immediate abolition. To be morally consistent, the Society could not but deplore and reprobate those compromises of the Constitution, admitted and carried out to the letter by the nation ever since its formation, by which fugitive slaves are permitted to be hunted and captured as freely in the Free States as in the Slave States—a slave representation is allowed in Congress, thereby greatly increasing the political power of a desperate and domineering slave oligarchy—and the national government is bound, in an emergency, to interfere with its military and naval power for the suppression of a slave insurrection. It was specially with reference to these universally recognized compromises—no matter in what phrasing they are expressed or concealed,—that the Society has felt constrained to pronounce that instrument "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell," and, consequently, to predict in due time that very overthrow which has now befallen it, through the treachery of those whom it was designed to conciliate and bind, and as the righteous retribution of Heaven.

It was neither a sacrifice of principle nor an abatement of its testimony, in this direction, on the part of this Society, to declare to the rebellion itself, that it was marked throughout by high-handed villainy and the blackest perfidy; that the theory on which it was attempted to be justified was wild and preposterous, finding no countenance whatever in the Declaration of Independence, or in any rational theory of popular sovereignty; that its object was as diabolical as its measures were base and dastardly; and, therefore, that the national government, having done no wrong to the South, nor sought to exercise any unlawful power over it, was clearly in the right, and imperatively bound, by its constitutional obligations, to crush the rebellion, at whatever cost to slavery, the sole producing cause of the rebellion.

Of the fifteen Slave States that were in the Union eighteen months ago, eleven are now in warlike rebellion, and confederated together for the overthrow of the government, and the establishment of an independent slaveholding empire. The other four are held in allegiance only by the presence of vast armies upon their soil, drawn from the North, and whose withdrawal, even now, would be the signal for those States instantly to revolt, and to join the Southern Confederacy. The rebellion, therefore, virtually covers the whole slaveholding dominion, includes nearly every slaveholder, and has no other object than the preservation and indefinite extension of slavery, and the repudiation of all connection with free institutions. In one word, rebellion and slavery are synonymous and convertible terms. Whoever would see the rebellion effectually and speedily crushed out, must demand the immediate and total abolition of slavery by the Government, as a measure equally necessary and lawful under the war power; and whoever is for guarding or prolonging the existence of slavery, on any pretext whatever, is directly aiding and protracting the rebellion. Traitors have no other claim upon the Constitution than to be hanged or shot. The traitors most deserving of this fate at the South are the slaveholders as a class, and with hardly an exception. They are the instigators, the leaders, the gigantic criminals, and upon their heads should fall an avalanche of retributive justice. Without them, the bloody and oppressive system to which they malady cling, there had been no rebellion, but in all the South, as in all the North, there would have been the spirit of loyalty and the prevalence of peace. Had as the Constitution, in its admitted pro-slavery compromises, it no longer answers the purposes or needs of this nefarious oligarchy; and, therefore, they trample it under their feet, and cease to claim any advantage or protection from it, for themselves or their "peculiar institution." By so doing, they not only vacate all their old constitutional rights, and utterly preclude all appeal to that direction, but place their whole slave system at the mercy of the Government, which should have no mercy upon it, but should instantly avail itself of this magnificent opportunity to smite it to the dust, and so in righteousness bring the rebellion to an end, and give peace and repose to our distracted and bleeding country.

Under these altered circumstances, slavery is no longer a Southern institution, but a national responsibility, for the further continuance of it, the Government and people are to be held accountable before God and the world. On no consideration must they be permitted to evade the duty of the hour. Theirs is the right, theirs is the power, theirs is the sacred obligation to proclaim a jubilee to all who are pining in bondage in our land; and no device can be substituted for this, without involving them in blood-guiltiness. If, before the revolt and secession, they were not answerable for the existence of slavery at the South, (though their complicity has been constant from the beginning,) still, they can no longer avail themselves of such a plea. They stand as Pharaoh stood to the children of Israel, and can let the bondmen go free if they choose; and if they shall turn a deaf ear as he did, then other plagues shall assuredly scourge the land, and heavier judgments fall upon it. "Now is the accepted time, and now is the day of salvation."

To encourage and strengthen the Government in the performance of this legitimate and beneficent work, we need not even glance at the absurdity of the suppositions, on the one hand, that these poor people, who have lived all their lives in slavery under the U. S. Constitution, have any reason to regard or revere it, or, on the other, that any instructions, pro or con, about that document, would enter into their present course of education; for the hated order proceeds to put his finger upon the precise doctrine which he objects to, hating taught, and which he had dressed up for display in the very different proposition above quoted. His great fear is that the negroes will be taught "that

multitudes of petitions, signed by tens of thousands of the most intelligent and moral portion of the people of the North, have been forwarded to the present Congress, asking for a decree of universal emancipation. It cannot reasonably be doubted that such a decree would sweep through the rebellious South with irresistible power, and electrify with indescribable joy the entire North. Why should there be any doubt or delay? If there are no constitutional scruples against making the towns, ravaging the fields, and destroying the lives of the rebels of the South, why should there be any against transferring four millions of slaves from the side of rebellion to that of the Union, the Constitution, the Government, and breaking all the fetters? It will be an act not only of the highest political wisdom, but of transcendent glory and immortal renown to the Administration under which it is consummated. Then may the shout go up from the Atlantic to the Pacific, without cant or hypocrisy, "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!"

This Society rejoices in these cheering signs of the times which indicate an increasing readiness on the part of the Government and people to make slavery and the war terminate together. Among these are the act of Congress, prohibiting the return of fugitive slaves by any officers in the army; the proposition for the recognition of the independence of Hayti and Liberia; the motion of Senator Wilson for a material change in the Fugitive Slave Law, which will undoubtedly prevail; the proposition of Senator Sumner for the abolition of the inter-State slave trade; the treaty concluded between Great Britain and the United States for the suppression of the foreign slave trade; the recognition by the President of the inalienability of slavery with the safety and permanence of the Government, in his message, recommending the abolition of the slave system in all the States, and offering a generous cooperation on the part of the nation; the rising discussion of the question in the Border States; the restoration of Gen. Fremont to his command, in spite of the clamor of his enemies, and notwithstanding his freedom-giving proclamation in Missouri; the growing disposition of the Government to give succor and protection to all fugitive slaves coming under our flag, as evinced especially at Port Royal, and to employ them for their own and the general welfare; the orders of the Secretaries of the Army and Navy to arm at discretion the slaves coming within our lines; and, finally, the cleansing of the National District from all the pollutions of slavery, by the emancipation of every slave within its limits.

But, cheering as are all these signs, they do not lay the axe at the root of the poisonous tree, which ought to be cut down at once, and destroyed forever; nor do they seal up or exhaust the fountain whence these bloody waters of rebellion naturally flow forth, which are now deluging the land. The subjugation of the South by the armies of the North is not reconciliation, is not the reformation of a broken Union, is not peace, while a single trafficker in human flesh finds legal protection, or a single slave is left to wear the yoke and clank the chain; and, therefore, in order that there may be an abiding peace, and a perfect Union, and a homogeneous people, and all-abounding prosperity from the Atlantic to the Pacific, this Society will earnestly continue to enforce the duty of IMMEDIATE AND UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

Wm. Wells Brown then took the platform, and delivered a very creditable and highly satisfactory speech on the question, "What shall be done with the slaves, if they are all set free?" Rev. Mr. Hatfield, of the Methodist Church, in Brooklyn, then made an impromptu speech of a stirring and eloquent character, followed by Wendell Phillips in one of his admirably instructive and telling efforts; the services terminating with the singing of the doxology by the whole assembly. It was throughout a highly interesting occasion.

## TRUTH AGAINST FALSEHOOD.

The author of *Jane Eyre*, in one of her books, referred to the habitual use of deceit, wherever interest or convenience prompted it, among the people of the Roman Catholic village, where her scene was laid, and to the slight account habitually made of that fault by the spiritual directors to whom these sins were periodically confessed. We Protestants have a sufficient readiness to believe such charges against the votaries of an opposing faith, and yet we leave a similar fault in our own theological household entirely unregarded. In fact, a readiness to deceive for the benefit of one's sect or party, and a readiness to calculate those of the opposite sect or party, have become habitual in our periodical press, the "religious" (so called) as much as the commercial and political; and hearty acquiescence and cooperation in the use of such instruments by their teachers has become habitual with the people; with the supporters of the "religious" press, (so called) as much as with those of the political and commercial. It is undoubtedly true that people of the very highest repute for Protestant piety are undisturbed by the exposure of a lie in the editorial columns of their favorite paper, if that lie is directed against their opponents. If, then, the religion of a people is to be held accountable, as it must be, in a greater or less degree, for such a state of things, the popular Protestant faith of this country must share this responsibility with the Roman Catholic faith.

To mention one other example before coming to the case of which I wish particularly to speak, the National Tract Society and the Tract Society in Boston have, for the last five years, made grievous complaints, each of disingenuousness, trickery, misrepresentation and unfair management on the other. These charges are true, and equally true on each side; and the partisans of each consider the other very greatly to blame; yet the partisans of each support their own officials in taking precisely the same course.

A specimen of the same dishonesty may be found, copied from the *Journal of Commerce*, in the first column of the first page of this sheet. A gentleman of New York, whose position in society secures him a place in that paper, having refused, from his own knowledge, some of the calumnies uttered by the *Journal of Commerce* against the Port Royal returns and their employers, the editor of that paper returns to the charge, and, in so doing, displays his friendliness to the charge, in a very instructive manner.

The editorial article in question assumes that the colored refugees now under instruction at Port Royal will be (and its letter and spirit equally assume that they ought to be) "restored to slavery, unless confiscated, or freed by some process of law which will be held good in South Carolina." It evidently thinks there is more risk in the possibility of some heterodox doctrine in religion being communicated to some of these pupils, by some of their teachers, than in the whole of them going without further instruction. But its yet greater apprehension is of political heresy; of the danger that these plantation negroes will be taught "disunionism." This, from a paper which was recently compelled to a change of editors, through a well-grounded public belief in its own disunionism, is certainly refreshingly cool.

Becoming a little passionate as he proceeds in the discussion, the new editor reveals with great plainness his substantial agreement with the old one. That which he now chooses to stamp as disunionism, and which he represents as most highly unsuitable to be taught to the negroes is, "that the war has absolved the Government from all constitutional obligation to the owners of slaves, loyal or disloyal."

We need not even glance at the absurdity of the suppositions, on the one hand, that these poor people, who have lived all their lives in slavery under the U. S. Constitution, have any reason to regard or revere it, or, on the other, that any instructions, pro or con, about that document, would enter into their present course of education; for the hated order proceeds to put his finger upon the precise doctrine which he objects to, hating taught, and which he had dressed up for display in the very different proposition above quoted. His great fear is that the negroes will be taught "that

they were born free, and that they ought to escape from their masters if they should happen ever to be restored to them."

It really looks as



## NEW PUBLICATIONS.

THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER. No. 231. May, 1862.

The table of contents is as follows:

1. The Best Government. 2. Spencer's Reconciliation of Science and Religion. 3. Alteration of Hymns. 4. Afterthoughts with a Painter. 5. Public Prayer. 6. The Ethics of Treason. 7. The Greeks. 8. Auerbach's Writings. 9. Review of Current Literature. 10. New Publications Received. Index.

This is a particularly solid and excellent number. In its leading article, suggested by the recently published "Considerations on Representative Government," by John Stuart Mill, it treats ably and justly of the character of the best government. It considers the duties of the citizen, not only of the individual, but of the nation; of the rights of the individual, not only of the rights of the nation; of the rights of the nation, not only of the rights of the world; of the rights of the world, not only of the rights of the universe; of the rights of the universe, not only of the rights of the God. It is a work of great value, and one which every citizen should read.

The article on Public Prayer agrees with a recent article on the same subject in the *North American Review* in considering the rights of the citizen, and the rights of the nation, and the rights of the world, and the rights of the universe, and the rights of the God.

The article on the Ethics of Treason, by Theodore Parker, is a masterpiece of reasoning and eloquence. It is a work of great value, and one which every citizen should read.

The article on the Greeks, by John Stuart Mill, is a masterpiece of reasoning and eloquence. It is a work of great value, and one which every citizen should read.

The article on Auerbach's Writings, by John Stuart Mill, is a masterpiece of reasoning and eloquence. It is a work of great value, and one which every citizen should read.

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has a finely engraved and accurate portrait of her, which adds greatly to its value. Mr. Tilton, too, has done his part well, in his graceful and appreciative "Memorial" of Mrs. Browning, full of nice discrimination and analysis of her poetry and her character. Altogether, Mr. Miller has given us, in this new completed set, a most attractive copy of the works of this wondrously gifted woman.

**BALLADS OF THE WAR—MARCH TO THE CAPITAL.** No. 1. By Augustine J. H. Duganne. Splendidly and profusely illustrated, from original Drawings by the best Artists. New York: Published by John Robins, 37 Park Row, and sold by all Book-sellers, News Agents, and Canvasers.

From this specimen number, we infer that the whole series will be replete with interest and attraction, and quite sure to obtain many subscribers and purchasers. It is beautifully printed, and the sketches are made in a very artistic and graphic manner.

**THRILLING AND INSTRUCTIVE DEVELOPMENTS: An Experience of Fifteen Years as Roman Catholic Clergyman and Priest.** By M. B. Czechowski, Minister of the Gospel. Boston: Published for the Author. 1862.

This is a simple, unvarnished narration of an eventful connection by its author with various Catholic monasteries, whereby he was led to perceive the profligate habits of many of the priests; and, astounded at the discovery, he made his way to Rome, through many difficulties and perils, ingeniously but absurdly supposing that, by revealing to the Pope the facts that had come to his own knowledge, he would meet with sympathy, and induce further inquiry into the matter. "But, alas, for his hopes! Here he looked for consolation, he met neglect and scorn. He arrived in Rome with delightful anticipations, and departed disgusted, and despairing of finding a perfection which did not exist." He was subsequently greatly persecuted, and, after many painful visitations and narrow escapes, at last succeeded in making his flight to this country. He appears to possess a humble and sweet spirit, and indulges in no vituperative language. Of his respectability and truthfulness, there are many vouchers, which appear in the appendix. The price of the work is 75 cents. Application can be made to John P. Cotton, Box 1079, Boston.

**J. M. McKIM AND THE PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.**

A copy of the following correspondence has been, at our own request, kindly furnished by the Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society for publication. We should have great regret at laying it before our readers, were it not for the statement which we are permitted to append to it by way of qualification. See remarks subsequent.

**ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, JANUARY 23d, 1862.**  
To the Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society:

DEAR FRIENDS:—I absent myself from your meeting this afternoon that I may be the better prepared to do my duty, which I am aware, I have for some time had in contemplation. I propose to dissolve my official connection with the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society; and to this end I hereby tender my resignation as Corresponding Secretary. That no inconvenience may arise from sudden change in this matter, I desire to add that, with your approval, I will continue to perform the duties of the office till you shall have had time to supply my place with a successor.

I need hardly say that, in taking this step, I have not acted without careful consideration; neither need I add that I perform the duty its adoption devolves upon me with unqualified reluctance. A life of more than twenty years standing, even though it be but an official one, is not to be severed without cost; and a relation around which are twined the best associations of a man's life is only dissolved after painful effort.

It is now twenty-two years since I entered the service of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society; and more than twenty-six years since I commenced my labors in this State as a public advocate of the Anti-Slavery cause. On the first of October, 1836, actuated by a profound sense of duty, and with a heart panting for the work, I accepted a commission from the American Anti-Slavery Society, to labor in its behalf, in this my native State, as a travelling lecturer. I continued in this service, with a brief interruption, occasioned chiefly by ill-health, till the first of January, 1840, at which time, by invitation of your predecessors in office, I entered upon the duties from which I am now about to retire.

In all these years, nothing has occurred to make me regret, even for a moment, my original purpose of self-devotion to the cause, nor the subsequent manner in which I was led to carry that purpose into practice. My labors and experiences have been sources to me of highly prized advantage; and from my official connection with the Society, and the relations in which it has placed me with the Executive Committee, I have derived some of the purest pleasures of my life. I leave without the memory of a grievance, or the drawback of a single unpleasant recollection. The cord which drew me to the cause in the beginning still binds me to its friends; and the ties which have linked me to the dear friends who have been my coadjutors have undergone no change except that of augmented vigor.

I retire because I believe that my peculiar work, in the position I have occupied, is done. The ultimate object of the Society, it is true, has not yet been attained, neither is its particular mission entirely accomplished. Slavery still exists; and public sentiment respecting it is not yet wholly rectified. But the signs of the times in regard to the former warrant a belief that its overthrow is near, and the progress of change in the character of the latter justifies the conviction that its regeneration will soon be sufficiently complete for all our intended purposes.

The Society is now at liberty to discontinue the use of some of the instrumentalities heretofore deemed indispensable. The travelling lecturer is no longer a necessity, and the agent in the office need not feel bound to his place by a sense of obligation. This latter fact, applied to my own case, I accept as an indication of duty. Taken in connection with other signs pointing in the same direction, it has brought me to the conclusion which it is the business of this letter to announce. Having performed this task, and having nothing else to add, except that I hope to be with you at your next meeting as usual, I am in the bonds of fraternal affection and anti-slavery fellowship.

Yours, to the end,  
J. M. McKIM.

The Recording Secretary to Mr. McKim.

**JANUARY 23d, 1862.**  
DEAR MR. McKIM: The Executive Committee postponed final action upon your resignation until the next meeting. In the meantime, I am instructed to hand you the following minute adopted by the Committee:

"The Committee are unanimous in regretting the proposed resignation of J. M. McKim, feeling that his withdrawal will be a great loss to the cause; and while they do not wish to step between him and his convictions of duty, they would be glad if, upon further consideration, he could feel it right to remain in his present position."

Yours, sincerely,  
REUBEN TOMLINSON, Sec'y.

**Mr. McKim's Reply.**

**ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, JAN. 24th, 1862.**  
REUBEN TOMLINSON: Dear Friend—Your note of the 23d, in behalf of the Executive Committee, was duly received. I accept it, as it was doubtless intended, not as a request that I should reconsider my resignation, but as an expression of the kindly feeling which the Committee are pleased to entertain toward me. As such, it is very acceptable, and I am truly grateful to the Committee.

As for the apprehension expressed of "loss to the cause" from my withdrawal, I have only to say that our cause is happily beyond the reach of injury from any circumstance of such comparative unimportance. Presuming that you will take an early opportunity to act on my letter, I am

Yours, truly,  
J. M. McKIM.

The Executive Committee to Mr. McKim.

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 9th, 1862.  
J. M. McKIM: Dear Friend—It is with no ordinary feeling of regret that we receive the announcement of your resignation of the office of Corresponding Secretary of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society. Years of mutual intercourse and labor in a cause with which our lives have been wrought, create the strongest fraternal bonds; and our hearts refuse to consent to the severance of even the official ties which bind us together, until the jubilee of the slave shall announce the end of our work. If any word of ours could change your decision, we would gladly speak that word. Our work is not yet done, and the portion which yet remains to be accomplished cannot be accurately measured by mortal ken. In our opinion, our cause still needs your services at the important post which you have so long occupied. But if your decision cannot be reversed, all that remains for us to do is to accept, with most sincere reluctance, your resignation; and to express, at parting, our high appreciation of the services we are about to lose. It is not in conformity with conventional usage, nor in the hollow forms of ceremonious phraseology, but from the strong impulse of our hearts, that we testify to the fidelity and zeal and diligence with which you have served the Anti-Slavery cause through all its vicissitudes, from the time of your consecration to it, in its day of small things, to the present hour, when it seems about to be crowned with victory.

With the same cordial sincerity do we reciprocate your expression of fraternal regard, and assure you that the friendship which has been nurtured by the intense experience of cooperative anti-slavery labor through so many years, will long survive that labor. Our best wishes for your prosperity, and for the abundant success of all your efforts to bless the human race, will ever attend you.

**JAMES MOTT,  
LUCRETIA MOTT,  
ROBERT PURVIS,  
ABBY KIMBER,  
MARY GREW,  
SARAH J. BACON,  
SARAH PUGH,  
MARGARET J. BURLEIGH,  
REUBEN TOMLINSON.**

**REMARKS BY THE EDITOR OF THE A. S. STANDARD.**

We are pleased to learn that Mr. McKim, though not persuaded to withdraw his resignation, has consented to remain in his present position till some other person, equally competent to its duties, shall be found to take his place, or till the Committee shall be satisfied that the interests of the cause no longer forbid his withdrawal. Our readers will probably infer from this, as we do, that there is no present probability of our friend's premature abandonment of his place. He remains, however, with the understanding that his duties will not be precisely the same as they have been in times past. The old routine of anti-slavery work is, to a considerable extent, at an end. Conventions, field agencies and other appliances for raising as well as converting the public, will no longer be necessary as they have been hitherto. The friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society should, it seems to us, devote much of their time and means hereafter to the support of the Standard. Mr. McKim has done much for this object heretofore, not only by his contributions to our columns, but by urging the claims of the paper upon the friends of the cause in his field of labor; and we understand it to be his purpose to do still more in time to come. His letters have for many years been a very marked and valuable feature of the paper, and its readers generally will rejoice in the assurance that they are to be less frequent, as they surely will not be less valuable, hereafter. In this connection, we venture to print an extract from a private letter of Mr. McKim, in which he states with great distinctness his views in respect to the work devolved upon Abolitionists in the new circumstances by which they are surrounded. He says:—

"I still hold to the convictions expressed in my letter of resignation. In my judgment, the old anti-slavery routine is not what the cause now demands. Iconoclasm has had its day. For the battering-ram we must substitute the hod and trowel; taking care, however, not to 'daub with untempered mortar.' We have passed through the pulling-down stage of our movement; the building-up—the constructive part—remains to be accomplished. If our machinery can be adapted to the new exigencies—as it undoubtedly can—I am willing to stay and help work it. But my interest in the old appliances and old watchwords is pretty much all gone. Scarp and counter-scarp, big guns, and 'Lend a hand to the oppressed,' are no longer the citadel stands defiant and apparently impregnable; but when an enemy hoists a flag of truce and proposes negotiation, it is time to change our tactics.

"There is one of our old appliances, however, in which my interest has increased rather than abated; I mean the Standard. That is, at present, in my judgment, the instrumentality of our movement—literally our *sine qua non*. I would have it understood, even more distinctly than now is, that the Society spares neither pains nor expense in furnishing for the paper a staff of editorial and other contributors, whose knowledge of the cause and experience in its service qualify them to say the word which its exigencies demand."

Our opinion through all its phases, and anticipated with anxious solicitude, the day when a predominance of sentiment against the extension of slavery should inaugurate a new and a memorable era in the history of the country.

The Committee desire to express their unqualified satisfaction at the avowed determination of the President and his administration to put down the African slave-trade, and consider that the cause of humanity is deeply indebted to them for the decided attitude now assumed against all persons implicated in the prosecution of this most infamous traffic. But while the measures the United States Government is adopting are evidences of a resolution which cannot be too highly commended, the Committee respectfully submit, that others equally decisive are imperatively required to prevent the abuse of the United States flag for slave-trading purposes. It is notorious that the Trans-Atlantic slave-trade is carried on almost exclusively under cover of that particular flag; and the Committee would therefore venture to suggest, that the United States Government should, without delay, concert, with that of Great Britain, the means of preventing the abuse referred to.

The Committee feel it incumbent upon them to express their extreme gratification at the several propositions, tending towards Abolition, recently introduced to the United States Legislature, more especially those for the removal of slavery from the District of Columbia, and for according Government aid to any State desirous of emancipating its slaves. While these measures may, indeed, when judged of from the Committee's point of view, fall short of actual right to the oppressed and injured slave, the Committee rejoice in them and hail them most cordially, as full of promise for the future, and as steps approximating to the absolute requirements of justice and humanity.

The Committee view, with profound sorrow, the unhappy contest between the Northern and the Southern sections of the Republic. In the presence of so appalling a calamity, they can only give utterance to the fervent hope that the fratricidal conflict may soon cease, and peace be restored to the land; and that with the abolition of the true cause of strife, a common ground of Union may be found, and a divided community be again joined in the bonds of brotherhood.

In conclusion, the Committee would assure you, Sir, of their personal esteem and consideration, and of their very sincere desire for the welfare and the prosperity of the nation you represent.

New Broad Street, E. C., 4th April, 1862.

The Address having been read by Mr. Chamberlain, His Excellency made the following reply:

GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE—I receive your communication in the spirit in which it is made, and with every desire to reciprocate the friendly sentiments it conveys, as well to your country generally as to yourselves in particular.

The desire of the people of the United States is to extend the blessings to be obtained under free institutions as far as possible, consistently with the preservation of every existing obligation, over the entire surface of their territory. Against the prosecution of this policy, an appeal to arms has been taken by a misguided portion of their number. The ultimate effect can only be to accelerate the same general result, under circumstances rendered needlessly distressing to all. It is the earnest wish of the Government to see the consequences that may follow willful and violent resistance. I trust that those most deeply interested in the issue, may avail themselves in season of the means left open for their restoration to safety, and that the common ground of a re-union may be as you express it, the voluntary removal of the true and only cause of strife.

I think I can assure you that the President's action is closely fixed upon the subject of the African Slave Trade, and that every effort will be made by the Administration, so far as it is possible under present circumstances, to co-operate with Her Majesty's Government in putting an end to the abuse to which you allude. I am not without hope that effective means may be found to prevent, for the future, the desecration of the national flag by the pirates engaged in the nefarious traffic.

I pray you to receive my thanks for the very kind allusion you have made to myself, and to assure you of my cordial sympathy with you in the arduous labors in which you have been so long and so honorably engaged.

The Hon. A. Kinnaird, Mr. John Ivatt Briscoe, and Mr. Josiah Forster, having addressed the Minister on the subject of the Memorial, the Deputation withdrew.

**THE HORSE-TAMER.** John S. Rarce, Esq., is again delighting the citizens of Boston with exhibitions of his humanity and address in the management of the horse. Two very successful performances, with the usual accompanying remarks, have already been given at Music Hall; a third is announced for this evening; and the last formal, and therefore, doubtless, the most instructive of all, will close the series to-morrow afternoon. Our readers are well aware, from his previous visit, of our high estimation of Mr. Rarce and his system, and will need no urging to acquaint themselves with both.

**THE ANNUAL PRIZE DECLARATION OF THE ENGLISH HIGH SCHOOL** took place at the Tremont Temple, Boston, last Wednesday forenoon. The Transcript tells us that one of the two recipients of the third prize was J. C. Francis, a colored boy; and it adds that he received the highest number of marks for the day's performance from the Committee. The subject of his declaration was "The Rendition of Fugitive Slaves."

**WE regret to hear of the death of HENRY D. THORNTON, of Concord, Mass.** He was esteemed and beloved by many.

**From a letter from Washington, dated April 28, published in the Anglo-African, we extract the following:**

"I have received letters from New York and other points, making inquiries in relation to a memorial presented to Congress by Hon. Mr. Lane of Indiana, purporting to come from colored citizens of the District, asking to be colonized in Central America. I am pleased to state that no such document has entered the hands of the President. Let me assure you that my friends everywhere are opposed to any such petition, from whatever quarter it may come; for this is our home, and here we will remain."

**ANTI-SLAVERY DEPUTATION TO THE AMERICAN MINISTER.**

At two o'clock on the 10th ult., His Excellency, C. F. Adams, United States Minister to the Court of St. James, gave audience to a Deputation of the members of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, at his official residence, to receive an Address from the Committee. The Deputation consisted of Mr. Samuel Gurney, M. P., Mr. John Ivatt Briscoe, M. P., the Hon. A. Kinnaird, M. P., Messrs. Josiah Forster, Henry Storer, Robert Alsop, William Thomas Sargent, Gerard Balston, the Rev. Dr. Carle, and L. A. Chamberlain.

The following is the text of the Address:

To His Excellency, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, United States Minister to the Court of St. James.

SIR,—THE COMMITTEE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY are gratified at being able to offer an address of cordial welcome to an Ambassador from the United States of America to this country, who holds principles in harmony with their own.

This important and elevated office has been most appropriately conferred upon you, Sir, whose sentiments on the subject of slavery have ever been in sympathy with those of the British nation, and who may be said to inherit, in direct descent, from one of the most illustrious Presidents of the American Republic.

The Committee are rejoiced to welcome you, as the representative of the first Government of the United States which has taken any active measures towards the removal of slavery, and they desire to pay it, through you, a tribute of confidence and respect. For many years, they have watched with the deepest interest, the development, in the Northern States, of public

opinion through all its phases, and anticipated with anxious solicitude, the day when a predominance of sentiment against the extension of slavery should inaugurate a new and a memorable era in the history of the country.

The Committee desire to express their unqualified satisfaction at the avowed determination of the President and his administration to put down the African slave-trade, and consider that the cause of humanity is deeply indebted to them for the decided attitude now assumed against all persons implicated in the prosecution of this most infamous traffic. But while the measures the United States Government is adopting are evidences of a resolution which cannot be too highly commended, the Committee respectfully submit, that others equally decisive are imperatively required to prevent the abuse of the United States flag for slave-trading purposes. It is notorious that the Trans-Atlantic slave-trade is carried on almost exclusively under cover of that particular flag; and the Committee would therefore venture to suggest, that the United States Government should, without delay, concert, with that of Great Britain, the means of preventing the abuse referred to.

The Committee feel it incumbent upon them to express their extreme gratification at the several propositions, tending towards Abolition, recently introduced to the United States Legislature, more especially those for the removal of slavery from the District of Columbia, and for according Government aid to any State desirous of emancipating its slaves. While these measures may, indeed, when judged of from the Committee's point of view, fall short of actual right to the oppressed and injured slave, the Committee rejoice in them and hail them most cordially, as full of promise for the future, and as steps approximating to the absolute requirements of justice and humanity.

The Committee view, with profound sorrow, the unhappy contest between the Northern and the Southern sections of the Republic. In the presence of so appalling a calamity, they can only give utterance to the fervent hope that the fratricidal conflict may soon cease, and peace be restored to the land; and that with the abolition of the true cause of strife, a common ground of Union may be found, and a divided community be again joined in the bonds of brotherhood.

In conclusion, the Committee would assure you, Sir, of their personal esteem and consideration, and of their very sincere desire for the welfare and the prosperity of the nation you represent.

New Broad Street, E. C., 4th April, 1862.

The Address having been read by Mr. Chamberlain, His Excellency made the following reply:

GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE—I receive your communication in the spirit in which it is made, and with every desire to reciprocate the friendly sentiments it conveys, as well to your country generally as to yourselves in particular.

The desire of the people of the United States is to extend the blessings to be obtained under free institutions as far as possible, consistently with the preservation of every existing obligation, over the entire surface of their territory. Against the prosecution of this policy, an appeal to arms has been taken by a misguided portion of their number. The ultimate effect can only be to accelerate the same general result, under circumstances rendered needlessly distressing to all. It is the earnest wish of the Government to see the consequences that may follow willful and violent resistance. I trust that those most deeply interested in the issue, may avail themselves in season of the means left open for their restoration to safety, and that the common ground of a re-union may be as you express it, the voluntary removal of the true and only cause of strife.

I think I can assure you that the President's action is closely fixed upon the subject of the African Slave Trade, and that every effort will be made by the Administration, so far as it is possible under present circumstances, to co-operate with Her Majesty's Government in putting an end to the abuse to which you allude. I am not without hope that effective means may be found to prevent, for the future, the desecration of the national flag by the pirates engaged in the nefarious traffic.

I pray you to receive my thanks for the very kind allusion you have made to myself, and to assure you of my cordial sympathy with you in the arduous labors in which you have been so long and so honorably engaged.

The Hon. A. Kinnaird, Mr. John Ivatt Briscoe, and Mr. Josiah Forster, having addressed the Minister on the subject of the Memorial, the Deputation withdrew.

**THE HORSE-TAMER.** John S. Rarce, Esq., is again delighting the citizens of Boston with exhibitions of his humanity and address in the management of the horse. Two very successful performances, with the usual accompanying remarks, have already been given at Music Hall; a third is announced for this evening; and the last formal, and therefore, doubtless, the most instructive of all, will close the series to-morrow afternoon. Our readers are well aware, from his previous visit, of our high estimation of Mr. Rarce and his system, and will need no urging to acquaint themselves with both.

**THE ANNUAL PRIZE DECLARATION OF THE ENGLISH HIGH SCHOOL** took place at the Tremont Temple, Boston, last Wednesday forenoon. The Transcript tells us that one of the two recipients of the third prize was J. C. Francis, a colored boy; and it adds that he received the highest number of marks for the day's performance from the Committee. The subject of his declaration was "The Rendition of Fugitive Slaves."

**WE regret to hear of the death of HENRY D. THORNTON, of Concord, Mass.** He was esteemed and beloved by many.

**From a letter from Washington, dated April 28, published in the Anglo-African, we extract the following:**

"I have received letters from New York and other points, making inquiries in relation to a memorial presented to Congress by Hon. Mr. Lane of Indiana, purporting to come from colored citizens of the District, asking to be colonized in Central America. I am pleased to state that no such document has entered the hands of the President. Let me assure you that my friends everywhere are opposed to any such petition, from whatever quarter it may come; for this is our home, and here we will remain."

**ANTI-SLAVERY DEPUTATION TO THE AMERICAN MINISTER.**

At two o'clock on the 10th ult., His Excellency, C. F. Adams, United States Minister to the Court of St. James, gave audience to a Deputation of the members of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, at his official residence, to receive an Address from the Committee. The Deputation consisted of Mr. Samuel Gurney, M. P., Mr. John Ivatt Briscoe, M. P., the Hon. A. Kinnaird, M. P., Messrs. Josiah Forster, Henry Storer, Robert Alsop, William Thomas Sargent, Gerard Balston, the Rev. Dr. Carle, and L. A. Chamberlain.

The following is the text of the Address:

To His Excellency, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, United States Minister to the Court of St. James.

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opinion through all its phases, and anticipated with anxious solicitude, the day when a predominance of sentiment against the extension of slavery should inaugurate a new and a memorable era in the history of the country.

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## Poetry.

For the Liberator.

## THE OLD SLAVE'S CURSE.

An old slave sat, at the close of day,  
Too weary for slumber, too hopeless to pray;  
In thankful toll he had passed away.  
Many a crop had he wrung from the soil;  
His hands were large, and horny with toil;  
He had fought Labor's battle, but where was the spoil?  
He had worked in the garden, picked in the field,  
Raised the vine's clusters, the harvest's rich yield;  
Loads of ripe fruit he had carted and wheeled.  
All his food was hominy, oft without salt;  
But the minister said he must not find fault,  
And ne'er in the path of his duty must halt.  
And what were his wages for life's weary years?  
A suit of blue banyan, hard stripes and salt tears,  
And a rod for his soul through the gospel's stern fears.  
His wife, companion, was torn from his arms;  
For rich men had eyes, and could pay for her charms;  
And the law was not made for ethiopic's alarms!  
His children, no, animals, they were sold round,  
Bringing "mass" high prices, if warranted sound;  
Regarding by "mass" like rascals or hounds!  
The old slave sat, at the close of day,  
Too weary for slumber, too hopeless to pray,  
And he thought of his life, almost passed away;  
And his spirit rose up from his long life-time wrong,  
And broke forth in words by the winds blown strong,  
Till the North, East and West heard the sorrowful song:  
Curse be earth! when the man that sows the grain,  
And waters the furrows with blood like rain,  
May never a competence hope to gain!  
Curse be earth!  
Curse be earth! when he that raises the fruit  
Is foddered and housed like the meanest brute,  
With hourly threatenings, and blows to suit!  
Curse be earth!  
Curse be earth! when the first-made bride  
Walked forth to her doom by her husband's side;  
But what were the curse, were the love denied?  
Answer, O air!  
Burdened with sighs, and groans, and wails;  
If sound be photographed, who down the fables  
Repeat the legends, keep them, O air!  
Curse be earth! may the locusts of old  
Enslave green fields with their withering fold,  
And all slaves by famine to death be sold,  
Curse be earth!  
Curse be earth! may Pestilence stalk  
Through hall and hovel with lordly walk,  
And life no more with its sufferings mock!  
Curse be earth!

For the Liberator.

## A CLOUD UPON OUR COUNTRY.

A cloud upon our country! and it lies  
Because our country held so foul a wrong!  
A wrong that burdened every breeze with sighs,  
Looked up unlit with its weeping eyes,  
And formed the minor strain in Freedom's song.  
A cloud upon our country! While God gave  
Blessings of plenty with a bounteous hand,  
We saw his image not in the poor slave,  
Sick and in prison, and we did not care;  
Scourged, hunted, burned within our native land!  
A cloud upon our country, not more dark  
That veiling her face so many years!  
Through the wide world was heard the bloodhound's bark,  
Making her name an ignominious mark;  
Not all unheeded fell her bondmen's tears.  
We may do wrong until we think it right;  
Familiarized with crime, the crime defend;  
But down-erased mankind hath restless might  
When it arouses from Oppression's night,  
And pent-up fires volcanic streams will send.

L. L. A. V.

## "LET MY PEOPLE GO"

## THE SONG OF THE SLAVES' HOPE.

BY GEO. S. BURLINGAME.

A murmur in the midnight! Hark!  
The whisper of a tremulous hour,  
That battle's earthquake tramp may see  
The bondman's dusky, long, dark hair!  
Old smothered heart-beats leaping out  
Almost to utterance, old despair  
Catching new breath in quickened air!  
The drawn breath of Freedom's shout!  
A quick thought gleaming in the night—  
Orion's sword by daylight sheathed!  
A voice to morning never breathed,  
The lack-song of an inward fight!  
Long ere this glow of lurid dawn,  
One sleepless eye, one listening ear,  
In gloom could see, in silence hear,  
The whispered word, and sound undrawn.  
By broad Missouri's winding wave,  
By slow Savannah's heavy flood,  
On fair Potomac dashed with blood,  
Sings low the long-enduring slave,  
Old songs, the heir-loom of old time,  
The awful words that smote, ere while,  
The crest of Freedom's Nile,  
Preluding Israel's march sublime.  
I plague, the tenebrous scourge of God,  
Vermilion and black, all loathsome things  
Commissioned by the King of kings,  
Obedient to the prophet's rod,  
With blood and hail and lightning-glow,  
And darkness deeper than the tomb,  
Came down the trumpet-voice of doom,  
"Proud monarch! let my people go!"  
Not till the robber's land was shorn  
Of all her glory and her power,  
And judgment rang its final hour  
In death-groans of the earliest born:  
Nor till the Red Sea's reflux wave  
Boiled in eternal overthrow,  
The pomp and pride of Pharaoh,  
Came full deliverance to the slave.  
The ore and blood and reptile swarm  
Are on the land of bondage now;  
The judgment Angel's lowering brow  
Pervades the final thunder-storm;  
While matters in the sulphurous cloud  
The summons, "Let my people go!"  
Slaves in their cabin chant it loud,  
And red-mouthed cannon shout it loud.  
How long, wretched God! how long  
Must rise the old predictive wail,  
Must fall the lightning and the hail,  
Ere dawn the freed to Miriam's song?  
The murmur deepens to a cry,  
Thought leaps to utterance like a sword  
Of fire unheating for the Lord,  
And Freedom calls to do or die!  
The slave has hope! then hope my soul;  
Not steel to slaughter drives again;  
But where God holds the bride-rein;  
He calls from battle's thunder-roll,  
"Ere all the first-born be ever whelmed  
The glory of your bounden slaves,  
Arise! and let my people go!"  
N. Y. Independent.

## DAYBREAK.

Morn in the East! How oddly fair  
It breaks upon my fevered eye!  
How chides the calm and drowsy air!  
How chides the pale and weary sky!  
The stars melt in a brighter fire—  
The dew, in sunshine, leaves the flowers—  
They, from their watch, in light retire,  
While we in sadness pass from ours.

## The Liberator.

## METAYERS.

I had intended to give some further account of the Metayer Culture, when I fell very unexpectedly into the good-natured controversy with your contributor, C. K. W., upon the subject. Let me do so now.

The system is not in favor with English authorities, if we except John Stuart Mill. The reason appears to be, that they judge of it as it existed in France under the ancient regime, when the exemption of the nobles from direct taxation threw the whole burden of the fiscal exactions of the corrupt and despotic government upon the occupiers, and ground the Metayers to dust. The better, and perhaps the only fair, type of the system is to be found in Italy. The fixity of tenure, which is indispensable to its prosperity, and, one would think, to its existence, is stronger in Italy, as I have before stated, than a leasehold; but is not to be found in France, where, it is said by Arthur Young, the Metayers are considered as little better than menial servants, removable at pleasure, and obliged to conform in all things to the will of the landlords. There is no system of labor that would not be despised and emulated under such detestable tyranny as that which governed France before the revolution. Rivers of blood were necessary to wash away the corruption of the old monarchy, and obliterate the titles to property that otherwise could not be occupied by honest labor, except from cruel and legalized persecution; and it is to be feared that Providence vouchsafes to us no other method of purification from the corruption of slavery, and the removal of titles that obstruct the progress of industry and civilization in this country. No argument can be drawn from the example of France against the Metayer system in the true and better form as it is presented in Italy.

Objection may be made to the conversion of slave to Metayer culture, that experience is wanting of the adaptation of the latter to the large culture of the slave States; but the fact is, experience is wanting altogether in respect to the emancipation and civilization of 4,000,000 slaves to be suddenly placed in freedom, without capital, and with no organization of labor to provide them with employment and wages. To do right is what we want; and to do wisely as well as right, is a matter that requires careful and earnest consideration. I am not able to see why, if profits are to be divided, there is not a wide field of success for metayers in the expanded and profitable culture of cotton, tobacco and rice at the South. It seems to me that, before we get to the end of the present rebellion, the necessity will be apparent of dispossessing the owners of a large portion of the cotton estates of the South, to dispossess them of power to destroy the government. The laborers must occupy these estates; they cannot buy them; and I cannot conceive of any more advantageous and practicable organization than for the government to place the estates under the control of commissioners, who will provide for the laborers, generally direct the culture, receive and dispose of the cotton, rice and tobacco, in the cities, and divide the proceeds between the laborers and the government. The commodities would seem to be of the best description to be handled and divided in this manner; and as the government can have no object in selecting commissioners who would not feel an interest in the welfare of the blacks, there would seem to be no better or more liberal plan to bring them forward to the possession of capital, and to the rights of citizenship in "freedom under law."

As they acquire capital, intelligence, and habits of self-reliance, they can do nothing in their condition as Metayers to prevent them from becoming proprietors; and if the privilege of the Metayer tenure should be granted to white men, there cannot be a doubt that large numbers, who will become acquainted with the South during the war, will avail themselves of it with alacrity.

Chateaufort, after describing the convenient arrangement of their farms, says of the Metayers of Italy, and especially of their system in Piedmont: "The rotation of crops is excellent. I should think no country can bring so large a portion of its produce to market as Piedmont." The soil is not naturally fertile, yet "the number of cities is prodigiously great;" and J. S. Mill remarks—"The agriculture must therefore be eminently favorable to the net as well as the gross produce of the land."

Of the valley of the Arno, in its whole extent, both above and below Florence, Chateaufort thus speaks: "Forests of olive trees covered the lower parts of the mountains, and by their foliage concealed an infinite number of small farms, which peopled this part of the mountains. Chestnut trees raised their heads on the higher slopes, their healthy verdure contrasting with the pale tint of the olive trees, and spreading a brightness over this amphitheatre. The road was bordered on each side with village houses, not many paces from each other. . . . They are placed at a little distance from the road, and separated from it by a wall, and a terrace of some feet in extent. On the wall are commonly placed many vases of antique forms, in which flowers, aloe, and young orange trees are growing. The house itself is completely covered with vines. . . . Before these houses we saw groups of peasant females, dressed in white linen, silk corsets, and straw hats ornamented with flowers. . . . Almost every farm maintains a well-looking horse, which goes in a small two-wheeled cart, neatly made, and painted red; they serve for all the purposes of draught for the farm, and also to convey the farmers' daughters to mass and to balls. Thus, on holidays, hundreds of these little carts are seen flying in all directions, carrying the young women decorated with flowers and ribbons."

Now, nobody expects to make an Acadia like this of negro South Carolina. Nobody expects the fine culture and picturesque beauty of the small farms of Italy can be reproduced upon the broad acres of the cotton fields of the South; but I suppose the income that would accrue upon the Southern plantations, and which might be divided between metayers and proprietors, is vastly greater in proportion to population than the income of Italian estates which is thus divided. No doubt, a metayer income of our Southern plantations would yield capital as soon as the negroes would be sufficiently advanced in general intelligence and in habits of self-reliance to profit by it, and the sooner they can be brought to this condition, and made to feel the responsibility of citizens, the safer it will be for the Government and for the best interests of the nation. The extracts I have given show that society among metayers is as free to all sorts of rational enjoyment as that of any other class of farmers.

As to parting with the laboring population of the country, as proposed by the colonization scheme, it is simply not to be thought of. What idea of political economy enters into the heads of those who favor this scheme, it is difficult to conceive. I am bound to think they are empty of economical ideas, and filled only with partisan politics. It has cost a vast deal of capital to raise the slaves of this country to their present productive capacity. Every laboring man, whether bond or free, working with hand or head for the satisfaction of human wants, is an embodiment of a character so effective and so much superior to brute force, that political economy refuses to estimate it as capital in financial statistics. It gives by a higher law than the organization of labor upon inert matter, and reaches a higher purpose; and yet every individual has cost a certain amount of capital, and has it in him as a state of wealth or profit, after all. I forget that we have not done estimating men by money value. Political economy does say that the four million men and persons held in bondage in this country are worth \$300 per head, or twelve hundred millions of dollars; but it teaches no such nonsense as the throwing away of this vast sum of working wealth.

The testimony of Sismondi to the Metayer system is still more favorable than that of Chateaufort, and

"has the advantage of being specific, and from accurate knowledge; his information being not that of a resident proprietor, intimately acquainted with rural life." It would exceed the limits of this article to repeat his description of the dwellings and mode of life of the metayers of his district; besides, except as illustrating a principle of success in the system, it would have but little application to any state of society that we could establish in our Southern States.

Now, a word to your contributor, C. K. W., who is beset with a crocheted that the metayer tenure is something less than freedom; or, as he expresses it, a tenure that I wish to interpose "between enslavement and perfect freedom." I recommend it as something between poverty and wealth, not as between slavery and freedom. I make no doubt, as I have already stated, that if the privilege of the metayer tenure was extended to our soldiers, they would seize upon it with avidity at the close of the war, and without quarrel with the blacks, would help them to form an improved society in the Southern States. The great want of the poor industrious man is capital. "The rights and obligations of the metayer being fixed by usage," according to Sismondi, "and all taxes and rates being paid by the proprietor," the system would give him the use of capital in the easiest possible way, and with the least possible room for altercation in the settlement of accounts. I cannot see that the soldier or the white citizen would fall from freedom by thus accepting a joint account interest, and becoming a partner of the proprietor in the working of an estate upon conditions "fixed by usage"; nor can I see that the same arrangement in the case of the black citizen would in the slightest degree encroach upon his freedom under law.

## DISCUSSION ON SLAVERY AT CINCINNATI.

MR. EDITOR.—Every Sunday evening, for the past two or three months, a debate on Slavery has been going on at the Unitarian Church in Cincinnati, Rev. M. D. Conway presiding. The question is, "Would a proclamation by the President of the United States, emancipating the slaves of rebels, put an end to the rebellion?" Several good speakers, pro and con, have participated, and the most able sentiments on both sides are listened to with attention by large and respectable audiences. The greatest degree of courtesy is manifested by the different combatants towards each other, and it is believed that much good has been accomplished for the cause of human freedom.

The following speech of Mr. M. R. MILLER was made in reply to the remarks of Mr. F. P. PICKLES, one of the pro-slavery advocates, who had made, on the Sunday evening previous, an elaborate defence and justification of human bondage, in reply to a written question sent up to him by a gentleman in the audience three weeks previously. The question was, "Do you justify one race of human beings holding another race in bondage?" Mr. P. promised at the time to answer the question on the succeeding evening, but failed to do so, and he was again publicly called upon to fulfill his promise, or acknowledge that he was incapable of doing it. Mr. P. thereupon, finding himself cornered, rather reluctantly took the stand, and made a most desperate effort to justify human bondage upon principle, but it is generally conceded that he made a grand failure.

At the opening of the debate on the following Sunday evening, Mr. M. R. MILLER, being invited by the Chairman, made the following speech in reply to Mr. Pickles, which I have reported, and forward to you for publication, if you should think it worthy of a place in your paper.

## SPEECH OF M. R. MILLER.

MR. CHAIRMAN, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is not without considerable embarrassment, I assure you, that one so humble as myself presumes to address so large and intelligent an audience.

During the past week, a gentleman remarked to me that he did not believe that this discussion would effect much good. I do not agree with him; but, on the contrary, firmly believe that free discussion, if conducted with courtesy and candor and good feeling on both sides, is essential to the permanency of free institutions. This free government of ours is the result of free discussion, and it can only be successfully maintained by encouraging and maintaining free discussion. Free discussion is the very life-blood of the Republic. As well stop the pulsation of the heart, and expect life to continue, as well blot out the sun from yonder firmament, and expect heat and light to continue, as to blot out free thought and free speech, and expect this free republican government to continue. Let there be no fear of free discussion; the greatest thing to be apprehended in this government is the suppression of free discussion.

It has been over and over again asserted, during this debate, that the discussion or agitation of the slavery question was the prime cause of this fratricidal war. But never was greater mistake made or entertained. On the contrary, the very reverse is the truth; instead of the discussion of slavery being the cause of the war, the truth is, it has been the worst of free discussion of the slavery question that has been the cause of the war. [Voice—"That's so!"] Why, sir, if anti-slavery men, both of the North and of the South, had been allowed freely to discuss the question of slavery everywhere throughout the United States—if that provision of the Constitution of the United States which guarantees free discussion, which says that "the citizens of each State shall enjoy all the rights and privileges of the citizens of the several States," this had been faithfully observed, I verily believe this war had never occurred. If free discussion, by speech and by the press, had been tolerated and defended, as it ought to have been, I verily believe that anti-slavery men everywhere could have persuaded the Southern brethren to have placed the institution of slavery in the way of ultimate extinction, without injury to themselves. I believe that Abolitionists could have convinced the better judgment of slaveholders, that their own happiness and prosperity would have been promoted by the emancipation of their slaves. No, sir, it was not the free discussion of slavery, at the mouth of Abolitionists, but it was the suppression of its discussion by mob violence and otherwise, which has resulted in the present discussion of the question at the mouth of cannon. (Applause.) It was the attempt to suppress its free discussion by egg-shells, which has inevitably brought about the sad necessity of now discussing it with bomb-balls. (Laughter.)

The free discussion of slavery in this church, during the present winter, is one of the most cheering signs of the coming of a better feeling on the subject. A thing, perhaps, not often witnessed in this country since the days of Jefferson, we have presented to us here the gratifying spectacle of large and intelligent audiences, composed of citizens entertaining antagonistic sentiments on the subject, listening with attention and decorum, night after night, to the discussion of slavery in the abstract and in the concrete. Our pro-slavery friends here have had a fair opportunity, unmolested, to defend the institution to their heart's content. This fact furnishes a most significant contrast between the two civilizations. Here, in the North, it is our pride and glory, not only to invite, but to tolerate and defend free discussion on all subjects. Our pro-slavery friend, Mr. Pickles, was listened to, on last Sabbath evening, with patience and courtesy, while he defended and justified slavery to the best of his known ability; but he knows that I would not be permitted unmolested to oppose slavery in a public audience like this anywhere in the South; he knows that I would be gagged, tarred and feathered, and perhaps hung to the nearest lamp-post, "without the benefit of clergy." [Voice—"No doubt of it!"] My friend Pickles must be, by this time, pretty forcibly struck with the vast difference existing between the civilization of the North and that of the South. Here, any man may defend what and whom he pleases, and there is none to make him afraid. I desire to make a few remarks in reply to the

speech which my friend, Mr. Pickles, made before this audience on last Sabbath evening, in answer to the question propounded to him three weeks before, whether he would justify one race holding another in bondage. He attempted to justify human bondage on principle; but I doubt very much whether he made his case out to his own satisfaction, or even that of his friends, who were expecting something from him more than mere naked assertion, without logical proof. After having taken three weeks to prepare himself, I must confess that I was looking for something more able and convincing; but with due deference to his acknowledged ability as a debater on other subjects, he made a most signal failure. But his failure was not owing to the weakness of the man, but to the weakness of the cause which he espoused; for I tell our pro-slavery friends that they have a champion here. He has failed no more than the best of those who ever undertook to defend slavery have failed, and as all men must forever fail, my friend asked for more time, and I hope the Chairman will allow him more time; but I tell the gentleman that a whole eternity will be far too short for him to make a rational and logical defence of slavery. No man can defend that which is indefensible. Not while right and wrong, justice and mercy, retain their present significance can human bondage be justified.

The argument advanced by my friend, Mr. Pickles, to justify one race of men holding another in bondage, instead of being anything new, is merely a repetition of his old two-blade of grass argument, which he has so often advanced during this discussion; and, for fear it has not yet operated to his satisfaction, he seems determined to repeat the dose until it does. Well, sir, what is the sum and substance of his oft-repeated two-blade of grass argument to justify slavery? Why, it is this: He says—"He who makes two blades of grass grow where only one grew before, is a public benefactor," and claims that slavery has done this. I most emphatically deny that slavery has done it, or is such a public benefactor, and I defy him to prove it. But even granting his assumption, for the sake of the argument, if by "grass" he means the natural wealth of the world, such as cotton and sugar, still, in accomplishing that object, slavery has caused two groans to issue from anguished human hearts where none rose before, slavery is not a public benefactor, but the worst of public malefactors. This has been the bloody record of slavery in all ages and countries, and it continues to be. Wherever it has been compelled men to raise blades of grass, it has manured it with human blood, and watered it with human tears; and, therefore, the end accomplished is vastly disproportionate to the means employed. As our eloquent colored friend, PETER CLARK, remarked the other evening, it is too much like burning down St. Peter's to build a beef-steak. (Applause.)

Nevertheless, where slavery has made blades of grass grow, let it have the credit of it, by all means. A gentleman lately from New Orleans told me that he saw grass growing in the streets of that city last fall, where it never grew before, and I suppose slavery is entitled to the honor of causing that grass to grow, at any rate. But, whether that will entitle it to be called a public benefactor is rather questionable. (Laughter.)

My friend Pickles defends and justifies slavery on the principle, that it has accomplished the "greatest good to the greatest number." The greatest number of whom? Does he claim that it has been the greatest good to the greatest number of those who have been torn from their native homes in Africa, and made to toil all their lives in America, under the lash, without wages? Or does he mean that it has been the greatest good to the greatest number of those who claim to own human beings as "other cattle"? Slavery the greatest good to the greatest number? Why, that is nothing less than the highwayman's justification. That is precisely the justification of the marauding bandit who formed a league to rob from the rich, and give to the poor. Their motto was the same as my friend P. now inscribes on the banner of slavery. "The greatest good to the greatest number." If successfully practised, it would overturn the very foundations of society, and drive civilization back into the dark ages. It would justify the citizens of Cincinnati in seizing upon the property of our respectable and wealthy fellow-citizens, Mr. Longworth, and distribute his great wealth equally among the two hundred thousand people of this city, in order that the greatest good to the greatest number of its inhabitants might be accomplished. Now, I know my friend Mr. P. would not approve of such wholesale robbery as that; but then, it is the inevitable consequence flowing from his justification of slavery upon the principle, that it is the greatest good to the greatest number. If there is any difference between the highwayman's doctrine, and the doctrine of slavery, as now defended and justified upon this floor, it is this,—that while it is the doctrine of the brigands in ages past, that it is right to rob from the rich and give to the poor, it is the doctrine of slavery, at the present day, that it is right to rob from the poor, and give to the rich. (Applause.)

Mr. P. sets up the claim that slavery has conferred a great benefit upon the slaves in the South, because, as he says, it has made their condition better than it was in Africa. Now, the gentleman ought to know that the slaves of the South were never in Africa at all; they are native Americans, born on the soil; and slavery has not made their condition better, for they were born slaves, and are slaves yet. Besides, the gentleman must have forgotten that it has been asserted, over and over again, by himself and friends, in this debate, that the condition of the slaves has been getting worse and worse ever since the agitation for their emancipation commenced.

Now, I would like to know by what logic Mr. P. can make it appear that the condition of human beings can be made better by being born slaves, and afterwards intentionally made worse to spite their friends in the North, because they want to make their condition better? (Applause.)

I will now consider some of the ridiculous assertions, called arguments, usually advanced by our pro-slavery friends, here and elsewhere, whenever the subject of the emancipation of slaves, or that of the elevation of the negro race among us, is introduced. They entertain such profound contempt for the negro, that they will not permit themselves candidly to consider the arguments we advance. Their prejudice against the race are so deep-seated, they are so pre-determined not to hear anything said in their favor or against the "peculiar institution," that they are incompetent to form a just and rational opinion on the subject.

Senseless and self-evidently false arguments constitute their whole stock in trade. Whether you are on the steamboat, the railroad car, in the bar-room of the hotel, or in the private parlor, wherever the subject of negro slavery is introduced, if you should advance the idea, that it is an outrage against the eternal principles of justice for man to hold property in man, and compel him to work all the days of his life without wages, some pro-slavery man will very likely break forth with, "Oh! it will never do to let the slaves go free; for if you do, they can't take care of themselves." Now it seems to me that a man with brains sufficient to fill this glass tumbler must see that such an assertion is equally false and ridiculous. Why, the fact staring us right in the face is, that slaves not only take care of themselves, but they take care of their masters at the same time; and if our pro-slavery friends would conquer their prejudices against the negro, they could not fail to see it. (Applause.) They ignore the plainest teachings of history. Why, let me ask them, do not the Haytiens, who gained their freedom by their own bravery on the battlefield, take care of themselves? Do not the un-molested slaves of Jamaica, of Barbadoes, and of the other British West India Islands, take care of themselves? They have no masters to take care of them, and have had none for nearly thirty years. Do not the three hundred thousand free negroes of the North take care of themselves? Do not the free negroes of this city take care of themselves? Who else takes

care of them? They possess property to the amount of two or three hundred thousand dollars, and most of them were slaves till they were of age. Does not our talented colored orator, Peter Clark, take care of himself? He was born and raised a slave till he was twenty-one years of age, and he is a living witness to the fact that slaves can take care of themselves when set free. The slave oligarchs of the South, who have made that argument to be used by their pro-slavery supporters in the North, really do not mean by it that they are under any apprehension about their slaves, if set free. Their apprehension is only with regard to themselves. The real meaning of the assertion is simply this: "Oh! it will never do to let the slaves go free; for if you do, their masters can't take care of themselves!" (Applause.) That is the interpretation thereof. "That's what's the matter!" (Laughter.)

Again, they say—"It will never do to liberate the slaves, because they are not fit for freedom." Slaves not fit for freedom! Why, of all men, it seems to me, under the broad canopy of heaven, no man is so fit for freedom as he who has not got it. (Applause.) It would be as absurd to contend that he who is hungry is not fit to receive food; that he who has toiled all day long is not fit to rest; that a man prostrated on a bed of sickness is not fit for health; or that a nation devastated by the horrors of civil war is not fit for peace, as to contend that a human being, born with the instinctive love of liberty, and deprived of that inestimable boon, is not fit to receive it. (Applause.) Emancipated slaves have, in every instance, proved themselves eminently fit for freedom. In all the various modes of emancipation—immediate, gradual, conditional and unconditional—they have improved their condition, and still love and defend their freedom.

Our pro-slavery opponents tell you that they have been down South, and seen slavery as it is, and they believe that the slaves are the happiest people in the world. Now, whenever I hear one of them make that declaration, I always ask him if he thinks himself the happiest man in the world, and he invariably replies that he does not. Then I ask him why he does not go down South, and be a slave, in order that he may be the "happiest man in the world." To this he generally replies, "Oh! I—of course, couldn't be happy as a slave." Ah! I reply, then you are willing to admit that a negro can do what you cannot do. If he can be happy as a slave, a white man can do; for neither of them can be happy as a slave, so long as human nature is what it is. (Applause.) The forty thousand runaway slaves now in Canada are forty thousand living witnesses that slaves are wretched and miserable. It is possible that the happiest men in the world would voluntarily run away from happiness? (Laughter.)

Then, again, you will hear our pro-slavery opponents assert that "the slaves of the South are better off than the free negroes of the North." Why, do they not know that a slave cannot own any property, not even the shirt on his back? But there is not a free negro in the North who does not own at least that much, and there are thousands of them who are rich, who own real estate and other property to the amount of hundreds of thousands of dollars. An anecdote is told of a free negro who once sold himself for five hundred dollars, and put the money into his pocket. His master then said, "Now, Pompey, you're mine, body, soul, breeches' pocket, money, and all." (Laughter.) This shows the undeniable nature of human liberty. It is absolutely impossible for a freeman to sell himself; for who is to receive the money? Nor is it any more possible for a slave to own anything, because all the slave has belongs to his master. The master says to his slave what a man once said to his wife, "What's yours is mine, and what's mine is my own." (Laughter.) The slave of the South is not better off than the free negro of the North. No more palpable falsehood was ever uttered. There is not a slave but knows it to be false. A man must first own himself before he can own anything else. No man can be worse off than he who does not own himself. (Applause.) No man who owns nothing can be better off than he who owns himself; and every free negro of the North owns himself, and more besides. (Renewed applause.)

Again, when our pro-slavery friends find themselves hard pushed for argument, they will say, "Well, we don't believe a nigger is a human being, any how." I heard a learned professor, in one of our medical colleges in this city, deliver a public lecture last winter, and he argued for over an hour and a half, and quoted Scripture to prove, that a negro was not a human being. He said that God never made but one race of human beings with immortal souls, and that was the white race. All the other races, he said, were merely brutes without souls. But, what was remarkable, this same learned pro-slavery lecturer, evidently forgetting what he had been previously arguing, said at the conclusion, that slavery had been a great blessing to the negro race; for it had brought them all the way from Africa, and civilized and Christianized them here. Slavery had Christianized brutes!

The doctrine, that negroes are only brutes, and have no souls, places our pro-slavery advocates here in rather an awkward predicament in regard to the case of mulattoes. Being half white and half black, half man and half brute, they can only possess half souls. According to this, our eloquent colored friend, Peter Clark, has only half a soul, and can never be more than half saved or half damned. (Laughter.)

Our pro-slavery opponents here are in quite a quandary with regard to our eloquent colored friend, Peter Clark. They can't exactly fix his status. When Peter Clark makes his appearance upon the street railroad car, and is told by the conductor that he must get off, the rude treatment is justified on the principle that Peter Clark represents the negro. But when we introduce Peter Clark upon this stand, and he makes before this intelligent audience a better speech than has been made on either side during this discussion, (always excepting our learned and eloquent friend, the Chairman,) when Peter Clark stands on this rostrum, and, like Paul before Agrippa, defends himself and the cause of his proscribed race, with a learning and eloquence worthy a seat in the United States Senate, or any other legislative body, why then our pro-slavery friends say that Peter Clark represents the white man! (Applause.) It is thus our opponents blow hot and cold, just as the pressing exigencies of their desperate cause may from time to time demand. (Applause.)

At times, when you have driven your pro-slavery antagonist to the wall, he will become irritable, and very likely one of his old fits of disgust will overtake him, and you will probably hear him exclaim, "Well, I hate a nigger, anyhow." A few days ago, while in conversation with a pro-slavery opponent, he said to me, rather pettishly, "I hate a nigger." I asked him if any negro had ever did him any harm. "No," said he. Did he ever injure or slander any of your family or friends? "No," Well, said I, what has any negro done to you, that you should hate the whole race? "Why," said he, "I hate a nigger because he is a nigger." Our pro-slavery friends call us fanatics; but whenever I shall profess to hate a man who never injured me nor mine, then set me down not only for a fanatic, but for a fool. (Applause.)

When you have completely discomfited your pro-slavery antagonist, then he will very likely turn upon his heel, and sneeringly say, "I have better business than to waste my time in talking with a d—d Abolitionist." This is proof positive that he has entirely run out of argument, and you may consider that your victory over him is complete; for hard names are not hard arguments.

What is an Abolitionist? One who is for liberating those who are held in slavery. The great and good man, whose birth-day we have but lately celebrated, George Washington, died an Abolitionist! That was

the crowning act of his illustrious life; and if all slaveholders since his day had imitated Washington, in his noble act of emancipating his slaves, they too would have died Abolitionists, and there would not today be a slave in America.

A gentleman who had travelled South once told me that, while rambling through a graveyard near a Southern city, he saw engraved upon a tombstone, as one of his greatest virtues, the fact that the deceased had liberated all his slaves by will. Now, if it is a noble act for a slaveholder in the South to emancipate his slaves, how can it be an ignoble act in an Abolitionist of the North to persuade slaveholders to perform noble acts worthy of being recorded upon their tombstones? (Applause.)

There are several other pro-slavery arguments which I had intended to notice; but my time has expired, and I give way to others.

## FROM THE ARMY OF GEN. HALLECK.

Dr. Breck, of Springfield, who went with a brother of the late Col. Peabody to the field where the battle of Pittsburg Landing was fought, has returned and furnished the Springfield Republican with the following account:—

"Following the great battle of the 6th and 7th, until the arrival of General Halleck on the 10th, disorder and demoralization were fearfully prevalent. From ten to fifteen thousand men lined the river bank, and many of them had been there since the Sunday previous. As soon as Gen. Halleck entered the field, everything underwent a change. Men were put into ranks, and order at once restored. Gen. Halleck is the idol of his army, and is as much a gentleman as a soldier, and presents the highest type of both. He has pitched his tent in the field of his army, about a mile from the landing, and come rain or sunshine he shares it with them. All this is very much unlike Gen. Grant, who, after the morning of the memorable Sabbath day's battle, was quietly breakfasting at his quarters in a fine brick house in Savannah, ten miles from the scene of conflict and carnage, and did not reach the army until four hours after the battle commenced.

The authority for this statement is the captain of the steamer which conveyed him from Savannah to Pittsburg Landing. During a stay of five days at Pittsburg, in constant intimacy with officers of every grade, the doctor did not hear a respectful word spoken of Gen. Grant.

They openly charged him with the responsibility of the awful sacrifice of life that had taken place in other words, for Sunday's surprise and defeat. Had not the rebel army been held in check on Sunday night, by the gunboats and the siege guns on shore, which were kept firing all night, and reinforcements of Buell and Wallace came in, Grant's entire command would inevitably have been beaten—an army of 38,000 men.

As this army occupies the ground on which the battle was fought, there are to be seen on every hand the evidences of an awful crime. The whole surface is covered with mounds and graves, when the dead are buried to a vastly greater extent than the world will ever know.

The almost fabulous accounts given by the land parties could not be credited without a view of the numerous charnel houses. Often, in passing over the field, one comes upon a grave in which the occupant is so slightly covered that the head, or one or more hands are seen protruding.

Bodies are still brought in, every day, of those who have lain uncovered since the battle—dozens of those who had crawled away wounded to die in secluded places. There are a thousand dead bodies still unburied. The atmosphere is so loaded with the fetor of animal decomposition as to be almost insupportable.

During the shelling of our gunboats on Sunday night, after the first day's fight, a piece of wood was set on fire, burning over a square, hardly more than half an acre, on which were afterwards found the charred corpses of over five hundred rebels. Some of these doubtless had been wounded, but the flames closed the scene over them all. The number of dead upon the field has been variously estimated, but probably never so accurately as by Dr. Breck, who conversed with many who had charge of the burial parties, and they all agree that two-thirds of all found dead upon the field were rebels. An intelligent and truthful officer, an acquaintance of Dr. Breck, assured him that, in a little rain, which he pointed out to him, he counted three hundred rebels, and that the city of our men, and its doctor estimates the number buried upon the field at not far from 8000.

Two out of every three of these are rebels, and this, it must be remembered, leaves uncounted the dead they took with them. The mortality among the wounded is very large. Of the rebel army, fifty upon one boat, two hundred died of wounds, reached Cairo. The wounded, as we have already said, are now nearly all sent away, and provided for in hospitals, on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers.

Our force now on the ground is large—probably large enough. Gen. Pope has already joined the army with his reinforcements. There seems to be no question about the superiority both of our men and our arms. Our Union soldiers were all armed with small round balls, many of them no larger than a pea. Several who were shot through the lungs with these balls seem to be doing well.

The rebel wounded are torn painfully by the Mississippi and other rivers, and are being sent to the land in the enemy. There is no doubt that the battle of Pittsburg Landing is the greatest of modern battles."